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231 Usually one may also see all sorts of other wild animals that have been raised in villages from infancy. Frões Abreu mentions young steppe foxes, and I have also seen anteaters, coatis, deer, and monkeys. The favorite bird pets are young parrots, which freely fly about the village; after sunrise they keep up lively conversations on the roofs, laughing and singing dance songs. As previously noted, the Canella like to keep sariemas as guards against intruding snakes from the steppe. Only in case of necessity are tamed animals tied up—perhaps most commonly the coatis [152] because their monkey-like climbing prevents security from their ever-prying noses. I recall no instance in which animals were treated capriciously or brutally.

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123 Čątú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little
608 girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
522 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
608 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him.
302 When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kañõ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

[764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
608 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with
292 which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

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JEALOUSY

152 836 626 Among young men any expression of jealousy or resentment over a slight would be considered mean and ridiculous. On the other hand, girls take little pains to suppress corresponding sentiments. In a fit of jealousy Kentapí told her lover that she would wait till he was gone, then lure her rival, Muruwá, out into the steppe, club her to death, and lead him to inspect the skeletal remains on his return. Fortunately, as elsewhere, big talk and action do not always coincide in Ponto. As a matter of fact, the two girls could not carry their hostility to extremes because the omnipotent social structure is bound to unite them again and again in defiance of personal sentiments. Such a thing as having a woman declare that she would not attend the afternoon dance lest she meet her rival is wholly inconceivable for a Timbira. Accordingly, soon after these two were seen dancing and singing together in one line.

SEX IDEAL

832 836 784 [164] The Rąmkõ'kamekra ideal for both sexes involves a stature that is not too short; light skin color; long and ample hair; a well-nourished body; small eyes; and a nimble gait. Males are supposed, in addition, to wear large earplugs. A lazybones (čukaká) who plays truant at log races or hunting and obviously evades work will have no luck in getting a wanton, let alone a wife. There were two or three such čukaká in the tribe—one of them probably afflicted with hookworm acquired on some begging trip. The others declared that they had somehow transgressed the food taboos imposed on young people of both sexes relating to the flesh of the little anteater, armadillo, porcupine, paca, capybara, sucurijú and jacaré, and to ostrich eggs, electric eels, and rays—prohibitions removed only after marriage.

832 581 Good log racers arouse the girls' pleasure and admiration, as do good singers and dancers. Yet in the choice of a husband a competent hunter looms as more attractive, lack of skill in the chase being a decided obstacle. Pądnhì had graduated from the initiation ceremonies, was twenty to twenty-two years old, had been long engaged to a girl, and according to the list he recited to me had killed many kinds of game; but he explained that this was far from adequate and that he would have to give many further proofs before marriage. However, there is no formal test; the general impression that a young man is able to supply a wife and family with meat suffices.

The only form of love magic observed is the secret removal of hair from the temples of the beloved person, whereby it is believed possible to assure a permanent union.

PREREQUISITES TO MARRIAGE

582 [231] 881 In former times no young man was permitted to marry before completing the cycle of initiation ceremonies, thereby attaining the status of a warrior, pẽp. Premature sexual intercourse, it is said, impairs one's prowess as a log racer. As described (p. 200), the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony of the last initiation phase involves the leading of engaged youths by their prospective mothers-in-law. However, the young warriors were by no means obliged to marry at once, being allowed to remain single as long as they pleased; since the difference within a class may amount to as much as ten years, some members had not yet attained the necessary age.

For girls it was essential to have obtained the corded girdle (me'pré) before marriage and to be virgins; and marriage with a virgin was considered indissoluble. This girdle was bestowed after at least one season's service as the associate of some men's organization. The two vų'tę' and the warrior girls who graduate from

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sonality played a wholly incidental role in this proposed celebration; it was impossible to discuss the matter rationally, which was henceforth never broached again.

The older men gave the following account of the solemnity as conducted in the old days:

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The master of ceremonies was customarily the leader, mamkyẽ'ti, of the oldest sportively active age class, who in this capacity bore the name of hudoipiapónkaté. The young warriors' maternal uncles went hunting in order to get meat and falcon down. The game was handed over to the brides' mothers, who prepared meat pies therefrom. The young warriors, as well as their brides, were decorated with falcon down, each in his maternal home. The former assembled in the plaza in a precentor's company, sat down in a circle, and began to sing. Then the hudoipiapónkaté grasped the young warriors' leader by the hand, pulled him up, and while singing "kapẽ-pẽ-ẽ toipẽ amẽũ!" he led him to the bride's house, where a new mat was lying spread out over the platform bed and the bride was expecting him in standing position. The hudoipiapónkaté led the couple to the mat, telling them to sit down beside each other, and intertwine arms and legs. Thereupon he admonished them as to the duties of conjugal life. To the groom he might say, "Now you must separate from your parents. You may visit them, you may bring them some of the game brought home from hunting, but above all you must look out for your wife and your mother-in-law!" Then he received a meat pie and left. Similarly, each young warrior in turn was led to his fiancée provided he had one and was of proper age. Then the households of all the newlyweds sent meat pies to the councilors in the plaza.

However, there always remained a number of young warriors who because of their youth or some other reason were not married immediately after initiation, but continued to sleep every night in the plaza and subsequently were married singly, though by the same ceremonial.

Of the Põrekamekra, Pohl writes:[36]

Der Bräutigam erscheint am ganzen Leib mit Gummi bestrichen und mit weißen Vogelfedern beklebt. So geschmückt wird er von seinen Aeltern und Verwandten, unter dem weithin dröhnenden Schall der Hörner, in das Haus der Braut geführt und dort in einer Art von Wortwechsel um diese geworben. Nach erteilter Bewilligung wird die Feierlichkeit mit einem Schmause beschloßen.

Obviously the author in part misinterpreted the procedure.

833 584

No Rąmkõ'kamekra is obliged to marry against his will. If a seducer of a virgin refuses to marry her, he can be forced to pay an indemnity but not to take her to wife. This principle still holds, at least in theory. If a mother or uncle were to attempt to coerce a girl into marriage with an economically suitable young man, she would at once thrust at them the story of Klĩkwẽ'i, which seems to date back some sixty or seventy years, when the village was situated on the Riacho Raposa, somewhat below the present settlement.

584 712 152

When Klĩkwẽ'i, who was very pretty, had received her girdle, her mother selected an able and industrious youth for her daughter's husband. However, the girl absolutely refused, preferring another, of whom her mother disapproved. The mother scolded and in reply to her daughter's request for sympathy, struck her on the back with her fist. Klĩkwẽ'i lay down on her platform bed and cried. In the afternoon she got up, hung her corded girdle about her sash-fashion, and went out of the village by herself. Where the northbound road passes between two hills she found a faveira tree at her right; unknotting her girdle, she tied it to a branch and hanged herself. When she failed to return after sunset, people looked for her, found her trail, and then her body. Since then every Indian passerby would strike

[36] Pohl, Reise, 2:195.

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the faveira with his bush-knife. In 1936 I was shown the spot and found the tree trunk lying on the ground in decay.

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On the other hand, I know of cases in which a maternal uncle forbade his niece to marry a young lad who was obviously going to be a bad husband. In general, when marriage is in question a girl always consults her mother's brother in addition to her mother. Nyunkré, the daughter of my "sister" Pụrākwẹ'i, delayed her wedding for nearly half a year, waiting for my return to get my consent, notwithstanding the presence of another maternal uncle who had raised no objections to the marriage. On the other hand, a father never interferes in a girl's amatory or matrimonial affairs.

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Even at present these people adhere to the principle that marriage with a virgin is indissoluble except on grounds of adultery and grave maltreatment. If either spouse indicates an intention to rupture the bond, he has to reckon with the disapproval of fellow-members of all the social units to which he belongs: they will publicly condemn him, send him a hạpín or a professional peacemaker, and bear down upon him until he yields. During a hunting trip a wakõkama had fallen in love with a wanton such as is always likely to accompany an expedition of this sort. On his return he did not wish to go back to his wife. The negotiations consumed several days, then two members of his age class seized him by his arms, dragging him at a trot to his wife's house, while the other classmates followed behind, laid him on the bed beside his wife, and made the two intertwine arms and legs. Thus the affair was settled. I witnessed the scene myself; the culprit's face is unforgettable: he almost died of humiliation and offered not the least resistance.

Similarly Pohl writes of the Põrekamekra:

> Ein solches Ehebündnis ist durchaus unauflöslich, und wenn es einem Indianer einfiele, sich von seinem Weibe zu trennen, was schon einigen in den Sinn kam, besonders wenn die Weiber früh alterten, so widersetzt sich die ganze Gemeinde einem solchen Vorhaben, und alle alten Indianer, deren Autorität von den jüngeren sehr geachtet wird, verhalten den Sträflichen zur Ordnung.[288]

PROHIBITED UNIONS

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For the present Indians the principle of moiety exogamy is hardly of consequence any more, but marriage between relatives of the first and second degree in the ascending or descending line is tabooed. When I encountered one instance of cross-cousin marriage while constructing the diagrams illustrating name transference, my informant explained, "Yes, there are human beings as shameless as that!" The union of persons connected by the hạpín bond is likewise prohibited.

SORORATE AND LEVIRATE

587 607

I know of not a single case of a widower's marrying his deceased wife's sister, though in at least one instance this would have been easily possible. This is all the more remarkable because of the considerable familiarity permitted toward a wife's sister even from the period of betrothal on, so that I was sometimes in doubt which of the sisters was the wife. In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra had pretty well decided on marrying me to Iromkré as soon as her term of office as vụ'tẹ' would terminate. Since this was not before 1933 I feigned ignorance of their intentions. Iromkré herself was quite sure of the part assigned to her, but as a vụ'tẹ' was obliged to maintain the proper reserve. On the other hand, her greatest pleasure was to throw her sister Kentapí and me together for playful social intercourse, which her mother obviously encouraged. Subsequently, a year before the close of her term, Iromkré married the second commandant of the kapranpotíkama, Kapẽrtuk.

[288] Reise, 2:196.

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Indian agent at Barra do Corda, was astounded at this behavior when he came to the village, utilizing the occasion to give the girl, then thirteen or fourteen years old, news received of her husband. Contrary to his expectations, she at first refused to leave her partitioned retreat within the house; when he called her, she got her mother to beg him to speak while she listened behind the partition. The agent, whose curiosity was now aroused, insisted on her coming out, whereupon she finally appeared at the exit, supported by her mother. Her long hair was hanging down over her face; for a moment she remained standing silent, with her eyes lowered, then retreated again. In view of the news he was bringing the agent had of course expected a jubilant welcome.

I photographed Kentapí at the time, as well as three days after her husband's return, when she presented herself to the councilors in the plaza, wearing the down decoration to which her status as a pepkahák-kuičwỵ'i, hence also a hąmrén, entitled her (pl. 7, *b*, *c*). No one would recognize that these pictures represent the same individual. Her husband, a tamhą'k, hence also down-decorated, stepped out of his sisters' house carrying a meat pie in his arms, and Kentapí then appeared at the door of her own dwelling, directly opposite. Both simultaneously walked along their respective radial paths to the plaza, two old men rose, went to meet them, took their meat pies, divested them of their decoration, and let them return to their houses.

When Kentapí's husband returned from his trip, he had first of all entered his sister's house and seated himself on a mat that had been spread for him in the antechamber. At once all his older kinswomen, as well as his mother-in-law, appeared to greet him singly or in pairs by way of the weeping salutation. It was not until the completion of this ceremony and after having eaten food offered by his sisters that Kentapí's sister, who had remained sitting by her mother at the door, said to him, "Kentapí calls you." He then went ahead of the two women across the plaza and to Kentapí's house, where she was seated on the platform bed in the partitioned space. She grasped him by the shoulders, put her forehead against his, and said, weeping, "You have been away so long, I have been so sorry for you." For all Timbira are convinced that the only spot in the world where it is possible to lead a life worthy of a human being is their native village.

In 1935 Kentapí again went into mourning—though not even approximately of the same strictness—for her brother Pądnhi, who was traveling about; once more her forehead hair grew down to the tip of her nose.

For a dead person mourning lasts at least a month. A widow who should have an affair prior to this period would be publicly censured. The only veritable row I witnessed among these people was when a widow got herself a lover hardly a week after her husband's death. Pụrākwéi, the dead man's and my sister, called her names for nearly a quarter of an hour on the boulevard, shouting and threatening to kill her; in fact, she came to me in search of a weapon for the purpose. In her wrath she drew upon the Portuguese stock of vituperative terms, for her own tongue is obviously very poor in this respect.

Externally mourning involves a more or less strict seclusion and letting the hair grow, the latter being invariably observed by the survivors on the death of siblings, parents, parents' siblings, grandparents, and spouses. Another manifestation, and a very obtrusive one, is the daily lament over and above the expression of grief during the funeral (p. 133 ff.); indeed, in the period immediately after death it occurs several times a day. This observance is restricted to adults and practiced incomparably oftener by women than by men. The mourner no sooner recalls the

1: Nimuendaju E-S (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Rąmkō'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[209] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Rąmkō'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Rąmkō'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[209] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.

/49 cont./
126 flour, that all the power of persuasion and even sharp words on the
593 part of her spouse were necessary in order to persuade her to remain and to continue to work within view of my camera.

846 During a brief visit to all the huts in the village I was able
[123] to ascertain above all the interesting fact of the persistence of the couvade among the Canella.

[123] /50/ According to the explanation of the chief, who accompanied me everywhere, the "man in childbed," who incidentally felt hurt by my indiscreet inquisitiveness and angrily turned his back on me, had been forced, since the delivery of his wife on the previous day, to lie down in her place and had to submit to strict regulations until the umbilical cord of the child had fallen off. He could not do any work, neither hunt nor fish. The slightest dietary mistake would result in a disturbance of the health or in the death of his child.

The mother of a newborn child has no restrictions imposed upon her, and, usually without suffering from any noticeably unpleasant effects after the act of giving birth, she goes about her normal activities as before. /Fig. 1 appears here./

123 The impatience of the chief permitted me to linger scarcely more than a few minutes in each hut.

123 All the ethnographic objects selected by me found their
126 way immediately into the habitation of the chief, who insisted
622 upon returning there as quickly as possible for a rapid conclusion
437 to the business of the exchange.

In the chief's hut there was then a rather stormy scene.

To be sure, the chief agreed to my wish to transport the collection to Casimba, but he demanded payment in advance, to which I did not agree.

Angered, some youths picked out their property from the collection spread out on the floor. Others soon followed their example and vanished with their possessions.

● [152] The chief himself behaved no less furiously.

To show me his deepest contempt, he tore off his state apparel and hurled it, crumpled, into a dark corner, but calmed down again immediately when the expected effect on me did not